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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to determine if eight distinct subcultures of college students reflect differences concerning psychological anomie (alienation) and existential frustration. In addition, the purpose of this study was to explore the interaction among eight college student subcultures and sex and race for psychological anomie and existential frustration. The eight subcultures of college students consisted of eight student types distinguishable in terms of their dominent value commitment. The subject sample consisted of 1306 students drawn from 89 colleges and universities. The eight subcultures were grouped as follows: (1) vocationalists, (2) professionalists, (3) collegiates, (4) ritualists, (5) academics, (6) intellectuals, (7) left activists, and (8) hippies. The results indicated that each of the subcultures studied exhibited some form of psychological anomie. It was suggested that belonging to a vocational or academic subculture might, in itself, reflect purposeful alienation from the institution. A number of implications, emphasizing the difficulty in dealing with alienation, are presented. (Author/BW)

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EXISTENTIAL FRUSTRATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ANOMIE WITHIN SELECT COLLEGE STUDENT SUBCULTURES

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> Alienation is neither a disease nor a blessing but, for better or worse, a central feature of human existence.[1]
>
> --Walter Kaufmann

Alfred Adler once made reference to the complexity of man's search for meaning: "The meaning of life is arrived at . . . by dark gropings, by feelings not wholly understood, by catching at hints and fumbling for explanations."[2] The same complexity, confusion, and often times sheer groping seem to occur when we attempt to define a term as broad and open ended as "alienation." In essence, we have found ourselves fumbling for an explanation that might be applicable to a variety of maladies of our time. One need only to glance at the mass media, be it film, books or theatre, to perceive "the plight of modern man."

Lewis Feuer offers a succinct description of "alienation."

> "Alienation" lies in every direction of human experience where basic emotional desire is frustrated, every direction in which the person may be compelled by social situations to do violence to his own nature . . . that is the most general definition of alienation and its dimensions will be as varied as human desire and need.[3]

There are a number of ways of studying the theories of alienation. One of the easiest and most efficient means is via a historical perspective. A quick examination of the early classical theorists serves as a good beginning point.

THE CLASSICAL THEORIES OF ALIENATION

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859)

> When I survey this countless multitude of beings, shaped in each other's likeness, amid whom nothing rises and nothing falls, the sight of such universal uniformity saddens and chills me and I am tempted to regret that state of society which has ceased to be . . .[4]
>
> --Tocqueville

To Tocqueville, the meaning of the individual has paradoxically and tragically diminished.

> First by secularization, itself the result of the application of abstract reason to values formerly sanctified by religion. Second, by the immense sway of public opinion, the tyrany of the invisable majority. Third, by the effects of division of labor which have made man the mere creature of the machine. Fourth, by separation from the ties of community. Added to these . . . a loosening of moral values. Such values as honor and loyalty, having lost their social roots, tend to loose their historic importance in the social order.[5]

Central to Tocqueville's perception of modern man is the uprooted individual; alone, without a secure status, and divorced from a community or any system of clear moral puspose.

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

> Alienation is apparent . . . in the fact that everything is something different from itself, that my activity is something other than mine, and that . . . an inhuman power rules over everything.[6]
>
> --Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844

Marx was especially concerned with the impact of the Industrial Revolution on man. Like the Existentialist philosophers who were his contemporaries (Kierkegaard and others), Marx was concerned with the complexity of achieving a meaningful, productive experience for the person in modern society. It was man's subjective reaction to an objective society that Marx's early efforts were directed.

To Marx, the objects man produces become an independent power ruling over him. They confront him "as something alien, as a power independent of the producer . . . The worker puts his life into the object; but now his life no longer belongs to him but to the object."[7]

The debate concerning what Marx really meant still continues today. Yet, few if any would disagree that central to his theory of alienation was a premise of man's desire for human emancipation.

Max Weber (1864-1920)

The pessimism which characterized Tocqueville is pervasive in the essays of Weber. "What does it matter," Weber asks in effect, quite as Tocqueville had asked of democracy, "if ownership passes from the few to the many; if the fundamental forces of modern society--bureaucracy, rationalization of values, alienation from community and culture continue?"[8]

Weber, like Tocqueville, saw a change taking place within the character of man; a change resulting from his becoming depersonalized. Yet, he still did not set himself, as many of his contemporaries did, blindly against the forces of progress. He could see the advantage of man's liberation from those forces that had been, for too long,

his tyranny; from the values whose very essence had been the destructive force against life and creativity.

Weber's greatest fear was that with modernization, mankind would sacrifice the highest spiritual and cultural values.

> No one knows who will live in this cage in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise. . . . Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart . . .[9]

Georg Simmel (1858-1917)

Alienation was for Simmel, almost solely methodological; it was a means of fresh analysis of human personality and its relation to the world rather than the basis of any kind of spiritual or ethical evaluation. In Simmel's own words:

> I see the most capacious and far reaching collision between society and individual, not in the aspect of particular interests but in the general form of the individual life.[10]

Simmel felt that our age, with the magnification of power, its ever sharper dichotomy between the objective (feeling that the individual's work, his church, his government, are increasingly remote and unresponsive to him) and the increasing moral inconsistencies were a ripe breeding ground for the "collision between society and self."

In a prophetic glance at the future, Simmel likens modern society with that of the stranger.

> He is . . . the potential wanderer; although he has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going. He is fixed within a particular group . . . But his position in the group is determined, essentially by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning . . .[11]

Man, then, becomes the encapsulated self; the stranger; the potential wanderer, in but not really a part of his society.

Coupled with the isolation process, come tension and pressure of outer and inner stimuli. To combat this intense psychic phenomenon, Simmel asserts that the individual takes on a protective reserve, a shield or mask.

> As a result of this reserve, we frequently do not even know by sight those who have been our neighbors for years. And it is this reserve which, in the eyes of the small-town people, makes us appear to be cold and heartless.[12]

Most of what is central to alienation as seen by Tocqueville, Marx, and Weber is epitomized in Simmel's projection of the metropolis --the de-individualizing city.

Since the classical theorists originally postulated about the notion "alienation," the concept has reached a level of extra-ordinary importance in the contemporary literature. The problem of alienation dominates the history of sociological thought, the field of psychology, existential philosophy, theology, political science, to name only a few. The following contemporary spokesmen were selected because they represent a variety of disciplines and have focused particular attention upon the heart of man's existential problem--alienation.

CONTEMPORARY SPOKESMEN

Erich Fromm--Psychoanalysis

> Life has no meaning, there is no joy, no faith, no reality. Everybody is "happy--except that he does not feel, does not reason, does not love.[13]
>
> --Erich Fromm, The Sane Society

To Fromm, man's relationship toward himself might best be described as a "marketing orientation." "Man experiences himself as a thing to be employed successfully on the market. He does not experience himself as an active agent, as the bearer of human powers. He is alienated from these powers. His aim is to sell himself successfully on the market. His sense of self does not stem from his activity as a loving and thinking individual, but from his socioeconomic role."[14]

Fromm purports that one cannot fully appreciate the nature of alienation without considering one specific aspect of modern life; its routinization, and the repression of the awareness of the basic problems of human existence.

> Man can fulfill himself only if he remains in touch with the fundamental facts of his existence, if he can experience the exaltation of love and solidarity, as well as the tragic fact of aloneness and of the fragmentary character of his existence. If he is completely enmeshed in the routine and in the artifacts of life; if he cannot see anything but the man-made common-sense appearance of the world, he looses his touch with the grasp of himself in the world.[15]

Fromm's solution approximates a general overhaul of the society, including economic and political change. To survive, man must replace material values with human values. Industrialization must give way to humanization. Fundamentally, for Fromm, love is the reunion of the estranged, the separated, and the prime solution for overcoming alienation.

Clark E. Moustakas--Existential Psychology

> The loneliness of modern life may be considered in two ways: the existential loneliness which inevitably is a part of human experience, and the loneliness of self-alienation and self-rejection which is not loneliness at all but a vague and disturbing anxiety.[16]
>
> --Moustakas, Loneliness, 1961

Moustakas explains that "existential loneliness is an intrinsic and organic reality of human life in which there is both pain and triumphant creation emerging out of long periods of desolation. In existential loneliness man is fully aware of himself as an isolated and solitary individual while in loneliness anxiety man is separated from himself as a feeling and knowing person."[17]

In loneliness anxiety there is a conflict or breach between what one is and what one pretends to be, a basic alienation between man and man and between man and his nature. In essence, loneliness anxiety encourages an individual to act in "bad faith."

> Alienated from his own self, the individual does not mean what he says and does not do what he believes and feels. He learns to respond with surface or approved thoughts. He learns to use devious and indirect ways, and to base his behavior on the standards and expectations of others.[18]

Since man has lost his world and his sense of community, he experiences a feeling of alienation from the human world around him. Without intimate and intensive ties which have genuine meaning, modern man maintains an essential anonymity in society and community. According to Moustakas, "associations often are on a contractual basis and the person is trusted as an object or thing or commodity."[19]

Philip Slater underlines Moustakas' thesis in his own book, The Pursuit of Loneliness.

> It is easy to produce examples of many ways in which Americans attempt to minimize, circumvent, or deny the interdependence upon which all human societies are based . . . We seek more and more privacy, and feel more and more alienated and lonely when we get it.[20]

Moustakas believes that it takes creative courage to accept the inevitable, existential loneliness of life. It requires an inner

fortitude to transcend the overwhelming fear of being alone.

R. D. Laing--Existential Psychology

> The condition of alienation, of being asleep, of being unconscious, of out of one's mind, is the condition of the normal man.[21]
> --Laing, The Politics of Experience, 1967

To R. D. Laing, society's barometer of normalcy becomes the true indicator of alienation.

> What we call "normal" is a product of repression, denial, splitting, projection, introjection, and other forms of destructive action or experience. It is radically estranged from the structure of being.
>
> The more one sees this, the more senseless it is to continue with generalized descriptions of supposedly, specifically schizoid schizophrenic, hysterical "mechanism." . . . The "normally" alienated person, by reason of the fact that he acts more or less like everyone else, is taken to be sane. Other forms of alienation that are out of step with the prevailing state of alienation are those that are labeled by the "normal" majority as bad or mad . . . Society highly values its normal man. It educates children to lose themselves and to become absurd, and thus to be normal.[22]

Alienation becomes even further intensified through the very process that supposedly is its cure--psychotherapy.

> Psychotherapy consists in the paring away of all that stands between us, the props, masks, roles, lies, defenses, anxieties, projections and introjections, in short, all the carryovers from the past, transference and counter transference, that we use by habit and collusion, wittingly or unwittingly, as our currency for relationships. It is this currency, these very media that recreate and intensify the conditions of alienation that originally occasioned them.[23]

Laing, himself a psychiatrist, physician, and therapist, raises the question: "Why do almost all theories about depersonalization, reification, splitting, denial, tend themselves to exhibit

the symptoms they attempt to describe? We are left with transactions, but where is the individual? The individual, but where is the other? Patterns of behavior, but where is the experience? Information and communication, but where are the pathos and sympathy, the passion and compassion? . . . Any technique concerned with the other without the self; with behavior to the exclusion of experience; with the relationship to the neglect of the persons in relation; with the individuals to the exclusion of their relationship; and most of all with an object-to-be-changed rather than a person-to-be-accepted, simply perpetuates the disease it purports to cure."[24]

In an earlier book, The Divided Self,[25] Laing describes the split between experience and behavior.

> Psychotherapists are specialists in human relations. But the dreadful has already happened. It has happened to us all. The therapists, too are in a world in which the inner is already split from the outer . . . . We are all implicated in this state of affairs of alienation.[26]

Laing's conception of alienation also carries overtones of the earlier classical theorists, such as Marx's depersonalization syndrome. "A partial depersonalization of others is extensively practiced in everyday life and is regarded as normal if not highly desirable. Most relationships are based on some partial depersonalizing tendency, in so far as one treats the other, not in terms of any awareness of who or what he might be in himself, but as virtually an android robot playing a role or part in a large machine in which one, too, may be acting yet another part."[27]

Paul Tillich--Theology

> Courage always includes a risk, it is always threatened by nonbeing, whether the risk of losing oneself and becoming a thing within the whole of things or of losing one's world in an empty self-relatedness.[28]
>
> --Tillich, The Courage to Be

A careful examination of Tillich's analysis of human existence reveals a recurrent theme of "estrangement," of man's separation or "alienation" from something which he ought to be united.

One way of understanding Tillich's concept of estrangement is to contrast his view of self with Fromm's translation of alienation. Guyton Hammond provides us with such a comparison.

> . . . it is important to note Tillich's view that the self can be comprehended only by seeing it in a "complex dialectical relationship." This complex structure of the self is the basis for the polarity of individualization and participation, as well as subject and object. It is also the basis for the fact that neither is more primary, nor can one be derived from the other. It is the essential nature of the self to hold these two poles in a harmonious relationship. But the self is also the being which can lose itself if the polarity of individuality and participation is lost. This means . . . that for Tillich man is essentially an individual as well as a participant. This dialectical conception of the self enables Tillich to hold that man in estrangement is still both individual and participant but that both aspects of his nature have become estranged. Individuality has become isolation and participation has become submergence. Reconciliation means the re-establishment of the polarity of solitude and community. Fromm's position, on the other hand, associates alienation closely with individuality. This prevents his understanding submergence as a form of alienation and also makes it difficult for him to indicate how individuality may be preserved when alienation is overcome.[29]

Concerning alienation and loneliness, the following comparisons are cited:

> . . . Fromm can be said to identify loneliness as the effective side of alienation. He also describes the regressive attempts to escape loneliness, and at times he speaks of these as aliention also . . . the achievement of separation accompanied by loneliness is a progressive step, though it results in alienation; whereas the flight from loneliness is regression.
>
> Tillich, on the other hand, sees loneliness and submergence in the collective as interdependent . . . Tillich holds that man is essentially both individual and participant, in polar relation. The being which is most separate is the being which can participate most fully. Since in man's essential nature these poles are harmoniously balanced, if one is lost both are lost.[30]

To Tillich, the anxiety of emptiness and meaninglessness is the ultimate concern. "Emptiness and loss of meaning are expressions of the threat of nonbeing to the spiritual life. This threat is implied in man's finitude and actualized by man's estrangement. It can be described in terms of doubt; its creative and its destructive function in man's spiritual life. Man is able to ask because he is separated from, while participating in, what he is asking about . . ."[31]

Tillich elucidates further by explaining how man escapes from himself as a response to the doubt imposed upon him.

> Doubt is based on man's separation from the whole of reality, on his lack of universal participation, on the isolation of his individual self. So he tries to break out of this situation . . . to surrender his separation and self-relatedness. He flees from his freedom . . . In order to avoid the risk of asking and doubting he surrenders his right to ask and to doubt. He "escapes from his freedom" (Fromm) in order to escape the anxiety of meaninglessness. Now he is no longer lonely, not in existential doubt, not in despair. He "participates" and affirms by participation the contents of his spiritual life. Meaning is saved, but the self is sacrificed.[32]

Kenneth Keniston--Social Psychology

> Ours is an age not of synthesis but of analysis, not of commitment but of alienation.[33]
>
> --Keniston, The Uncommitted, 1965

Keniston believes that "a general explanation of youth culture (and of the present extent of alienation) seems to be in the social and cultural situation created by a highly successful industrial society--a society which asks for more from an adult, offers less in return, and yet encourages higher aspirations than any before it."[34]

> Youth culture and alienation have been characterized as a silent rebellion against the prevailing order, what it asks, and what it seems to offer . . . one of the lessons of the study of rebellions is that they come about not because of any absolute love of misery, but because of a gap, a felt discrepancy, between what is and what is believed to be important.[35]

Keniston contends that because man is "thrown into" a world in which he feels he has no inherent place, he chooses estrangement as a dominant reaction to the impoverishment he feels. Part of that estrangement process is related to the pervasive feelings of unfulfillment.

Similar to a number of other contemporary spokesmen, Keniston traces the disaffection or alienation to the forces of our technological age.

> Despite the achievement of many of the traditional aspirations of our society, we commonly feel a vague disappointment that goals that promised so much have somehow meant so little improvement in the quality of human life. Whatever the gains of our technological age, whatever the decrease in objective suffering and want, whatever the increase in our "opportunities" and "freedom," many Americans are left with an inarticulate sense of loss, of unrelatedness and lack of connection.[36]

Keniston explains that although the feelings of discontent affect not only those at the bottom of society but those at the top as well, its chief target is youth. "The estrangement of youth entails feelings of isolation, unreality, absurdity, and disconnectedness from the interpersonal, social and phenomenological world. Such

feelings are probably more intense during youth than in any other period of life."[37]

C. Wright Mills--Sociology

Mills' scholarly studies of reason and freedom have led him to a systematic and clear knowledge of alienation. According to Mills, man's ability to rationalize "living" characterizes the "cheerful robot" of today.

> He gears his aspirations and his work to the situation he is in, and from which he can find no way out: he adapts. That part of his life which is left over from work, he uses to play, to consume . . . Yet this sphere of consumption is also being rationalized. Alienation from production, from work, he is also alienated from consumption, from genuine leisure. This adaptation of the individual and its effect upon his milieux and self results not only in the loss of his chance, and in due course, of his capacity and will to reason; it also affects his chances and his capacity to act as a free man. Indeed, neither the value of freedom nor of reason, it would seem, are known to him.[38]

To Mills the scars of alienation permeate beyond the individual affected. "The advent of the alienated man and all the themes which lie behind his advent now affect the whole of our serious intellectual life and cause our immediate intellectual malaise."[39]

As a positive response to alienation (malaise), Mills suggests that we cannot just assume that as a metaphysic of human nature, there is in man an urge for freedom and a will to reason. Rather, we must determine what in man's nature, what in the human condition today, and what in each of the varieties of social structure creates the cheerful robot? Herein lies the paradox and problem. To date we have not been able to confront the complexities and issues raised up by the crises of reason and freedom.

Mills raises the question that "in our time must we not face the possibility that the human mind as a social fact might be deteriorating in quality and cultural level, and yet not many would notice it because of the overwhelming accumulation of technological gadgets?"[40]

According to Mills, underlying the ultimate problem of freedom, is the reality that all men do not naturally want to be free; that all men are not willing or not able, as the case may be, to exert themselves to acquire the reason that freedom requires.

It is evident to Mills that part of the problem is that of political irresponsibility. In essence, we have abdicated our responsibility to address ourselves to the basic problem of human affairs. In Mill's own words:

> I do not know the answer to the question of political irresponsibility in our time or to the cultural and political question of the cheerful robot. But is it not clear that no answer will be found unless these problems are at least confronted? Is it not obvious, that the ones to confront them, above all others, are the social scientists of the rich societies? That many of them do not now do as is surely the greatest human default being committed by privileged man in our times.[41]

Amitai Etzioni--Sociology

Etzioni identifies alienation within a context of the dilemma of power.

> The term "alienation" serves to emphasize that the issue is not only one of overt hostility of those subject to power, for their reactions may also express themselves in the victimization of others, neurosis, alcoholism, etc.[42]

According to Etzioni, the answer to alienation lies in man's active involvement.

> To be active is to reduce alienation because it is to make society more responsive to its members. The post-modern society

> inherited from its predecessor an alienating structure--the product of modernity (industrilization, bureaucratization, etc.).[43]

To Etzioni, although a variety of definitions may refer to alienation at many levels, it has but one core: "the unresponsiveness of the world to the actor, which subjects him to forces he neither comprehends nor guides. The early industrial society is the archetype of an alienating society. Market relations and administrative structures, which were developed and imposed ostensibly for the greater happiness of the greater number in effect led to a society that stood between its members and the service of their basic needs."[44]

Alienation is not only a feeling of resentment and disaffection but also an expression of the condition of social forces. Hence, to Etzioni, even if an individual is only vaguely aware of his own deprivation, dependency, and manipulation, he is still alienated so long as he is unable to participate authentically in the process that shapes his social being. The roots of alienation, then are not in interpersonal relations and intrapsychic processes but in the societal and political structure.

One of the most important points made by Etzioni includes the notion that even though the level of alienation can be empirically measured and the members of a society appraised of it, the awareness of alienation does not create it anymore than a lack of awareness makes it disappear.

Etzioni explicates a special sub-category: --inauthenticity. Understanding "inauthenticity" is fundamental to understanding "alienation."

> Subjectively, to be alienated is to experience a sense of not belonging and to feel that one's efforts are without meaning. To be involved inauthentically is to feel cheated and manipulated. The alienated feel that they have no power: the inauthentic feel that they have pulled a disconnected lever; without quite knowing where and how, so that shadows are confused with reality. Authenticity exists where responsiveness exists and is experienced as such.[45]

Theodore Roszak--Historical Sociology

> . . . I find myself unable to see anything at this end of the road we are following with such self-assured momentum but Samuel Beckett's two sad tramps forever waiting under the wilted tree for their lives to begin. Except that I think the tree isn't even going to be real, but a plastic counterfeit. In fact, even the tramps may turn out to be automatons . . . though of course there will be great programmed grins on their faces.[46]
>
> --Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture

Unlike many of his predecessors, Roszak is still an optimist.

> . . . if one believes, as I do, that the alienated young are giving shape to something that looks like the saving vision our endangered civilization requires, then there is no avoiding the need to understand and to educate them in what they are about.[47]

Roszak eludes to the prime alienating force--the technocracy and its accompanying depersonalization.

> The great secret of the technocracy lies . . . in its capacity to convince us of three interlocking premises. They are:
>
> 1. That the vital needs of man are (contrary to everything the great souls of history have told us) purely technical in character . . . If a problem does not have . . . a technical solution, it must not be a real problem. It is but an illusion . . . a figment born of some regressive cultural tendency.
>
> 2. That this formal (and highly esoteric) analysis of our needs has now achieved 99 per cent completion. Thus, with minor hitches and snags on the part of irrational elements in our midst, the prerequisites of human ful-

> fillment have all but been satisfied. It is this assumption which leads to the conclusion that wherever social friction appears in the technocracy, it must be due to . . . "breakdown in communication" . . . Controversy could not possibly derive from a substantive issue, but only from misunderstanding. Thus we need only sit down and reason together and all will be well.
>
> 3. That the experts who have fathomed our hearts; desires and who alone can continue providing for our needs, the experts who <u>really</u> know what they're talking about, all happen to be on the official payroll of the state and/or corporate structure.[48]

Roszak follows the same premise as C. Wright Mills in that "the real threat to democracy comes, not from overmanagement, but from undermanagement. To undermanage reality is not to keep free. It is simply to let some force other than reason shape reality. That force may be unbridled emotion; it may be greed; it may be aggressiveness; it may be hatred; it may be ignorance; it may be inertia; it may be anything other than reason. But whatever it is, if it is not reason that rules man, then man falls short of his potential."[49]

To best understand our alienated young, Roszak singles out the counter culture, not merely for its ideology but for its personalist style. According to Roszak these disaffected youth identify alienation as the central political problem of the day.

> Not alienation . . . in the sheerly institutional sense, in which capitalism (or for that matter any advanced industrial economy) tends to alienate the worker from the means and fruits of production; but rather, alienation as the deadening of man's sensitivity to man, a deadening that can creep into even those revolutionary efforts that seek with every humanitarian intention to eliminate the external symptoms of alienation. Wherever non-human elements--whether revolutionary doctrine or material goods --assume greater importance than man life and well-being, we have the alienation of man from man, and the way is open to the self-righteous use of others as mere objects.[50]

Charles A. Reich--Political Science

> In a country as burdened as ours is with hypocrisy and myth the mere repeal of untruth becomes a profound insight.[51]
>
> --Reich, The Greening of America

Reich demonstrates that the structure of our society is at war with itself. Its present crises is an organic one arising out of the basic premises by which we live. No mere reform can touch it in any way. He sketches the following profile of our society.

1. Disorder, corruption, hypocrisy, war.

2. Poverty, distorted priorities, and legislation by power.

3. Uncontrolled technology and the destruction of environment.

4. Decline of democracy and liberty, powerlessness.

5. The artificiality of work and culture.
   Both work and living have become more and more pointless and empty. There is no lack of meaningful things that cry out to be done, but our working days are used up in what lacks meaning. For most Americans, work is mindless, exhausting, boring, servile, and hateful--something to be endured--while "life" is confined to "time off."

6. Absence of community.
   America is one vast, terrifying anti-community. The great organizations to which most people give their working day and apartments and suburbs to which they return at night are equally places of loneliness and alienation. Modern living has obliterated place, locality, and neighborhood, and given us an anonymous separateness of existence . . . Friendship has been coated over with a layer of impenetrable artificiality as men strive to live roles designed for them.

7. Loss of self.
   Of all the forms of impoverishment that can be seen or felt in America, loss of self--a sort of death-in-life--is surely the most devastating . . . Beginning with school, if not before, an individual is systematically stripped of his imagination, his creativity, his heritage, his dreams, and his personal uniqueness . . . In the end, people virtually

> become their occupations and their roles, and are strangers to themselves.[52]

Like Roszak, Professor Reich shares the fullest optimism. Despite the despair that currently portrays America's wasteland, he believes man can still bring forth a new flowering of human spirit.

> When the new consciousness has achieved its revolution and rescued us from destruction, it must go about the task of learning how to live a new way. This new way of life presupposes all that modern science can offer. It tells us how to make technology and science work for and not against, the interests of man. The new way of life proposes a concept of work in which quality, dedication, and excellence are preserved, but work is nonalienated, is the free choice of each person, is integrated into a full and satisfying life, and expresses and affirms each individual being. The new way of life makes both possible and necessary a culture that is nonartificial and nonalienated, a form of community in which love, respect, and a mutual search of wisdom replace the competition and separation of the past . . .[53]

Alvin Toffler

> In the three short decades between now and the twenty-first century, millions of ordinary, psychologically normal people will face an abrupt collision with the future . . . Many of them will find it increasingly painful to keep up with the incessant demand for change that characterized our time. For them, the future will have arrived too soon.[54]
>
> --Toffler, Future Shock

Although Toffler does not postulate a specific theory of alienation, his conceptualization of "future shock" addresses itself to the parameters of the malaise, mass neurosis, irrationality, and phenomenon of the disorientation of contemporary life.

"Future Shock" is defined by Toffler as the shattering stress and disorientation that we induce in individuals by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time. According to Toffler, future

shock is no longer a distantly potential danger, but a real anxiety sickness from which increasingly larger numbers already suffer. Toffler's intention is to put forth a broad new theory of adaptation.

The difference between the men of the past or present and the men of the future is summed up in "transience." "Transience is the new 'temporariness' in everyday life. It results in a mood a feeling of impermanence."[55] This same impermanence has a fragile affect upon relationships with others. According to Toffler, relationships that once endured for long spans of time now have shorter life expectancies.

> It is this abbreviation, this compression that gives rise to the almost tangible feeling that we live, rootless and uncertain, among shifting dunes.[56]

Commitment also has a profound affect upon the duration of the relationship.

> Armed with a culturally conditioned set of durational expectancies, we have all learned to invest with emotional content those relationships that appear to us to be "permanent" or relatively long-lasting, while withholding emotion, as much as possible, from short-term relationships.[57]

Toffler carries the concept of commitment one step further.

> What this means is that we form limited involvement relationships with most of the people around us. Consciously or not, we define our relationships with most people in functional terms . . . In effect, we have applied the modular principle to human relationships. We have created the disposable person: Modular Man.[58]

Unlike Mills and others who have expressed concern for man's forfeit of choice, Toffler postulates an opposite problem. "Ironically, the people of the future may suffer not from an absence of choice, but from a paralyzing surveit of it. They may turn out to be victims of that peculiarly super-industrial dilemma; overchoice."[59]

In summation, Toffler's analysis of the psychological dimension of future shock is not to be taken lightly.

> Millions sense the pathology that pervades the air, but fail to understand its roots. These roots lie not in this or that political doctrine, still less in some mystical core of despair or isolation presumed to inhere in the "human condition." Nor do they lie in science, technology, or legitimate demands for social change. They are traceable, instead, to the uncontrolled, nonselective nature of our lunge into the future.[60]

ALIENATION IN AMERICAN YOUTH CULTURE

> Alienation . . . is not a happening, man it is!
>
> --Ned Hoopes[61]

In a recent description of the "Wookstock Generation," Ned Gaylin explains American youth culture as the anonymous culture.

> These are the "Children of the Lonely Crowd." They have been raised in essentially non-community communities, where carbon copy anonymity is the order of the day. There is no longer a spirit of neighborhood . . . They are rather places from which to go to work, or to school, or to women's clubs, etc. And as these communities grow larger and larger, and along with them our schools, and universities, they become more like horizontal high rises. Anonymity increases. The quest for privacy becomes almost obsessional and the result is isolation and a growing sense of anomy.[62]

The concept of student alienation or anomie is a familiar one. Warren Bryan Martin, in a paper entitled, "An Answer for Anomie," speaks of the social vacuum that permeates most colleges and universities today.

> . . . Less well known is the fact that the consequence of alienation is anomie, a condition which frequently leads to the extremes of despair--apathy or anarchy. The challenge for colleges and universities is to help students to understand that one can no longer think in the space-time pattern of traditional forms . . . There is no coherent philosophy in most institutions of higher learning because the society they are pledged to serve,

and out of which their values have come, has no coherent philosophy. Anomie in education is a reflection of anomie at large.[63]

The alienating experience of attending a modern university has also been described and analyzed by such observers as Margaret Mead, Edgar Friedenberg, Paul Goodman, Ernest Becker and a host of others. One such observer, Dr. Seymour Halleck, Director of Student Psychiatry at the University of Wisconsin, purports that "the growing problem of alienated students--who talk about being 'washed up at twenty-five, apathetic and unhappy--might be lessened if students had more genuine contact with adults.'"[65]

Halleck further contends:

> A student can spend months on a large campus without having a conversation with a person over thirty . . . Isolated from the adult world, the student who begins to feel that life is meaningless finds other students who feel the same way . . . Subcultures dedicated to a rejection of the values of the adult world become powerful influences in the student's world.[65]

Richard Flacks also explains student alienation within the subculture context.

> What is new in this decade is, first of all, the degree to which cultural alienation has become a mass phenomena--an extensive, rooted subculture on the campus and in major cities, with a wide and steadily growing following. Equally important, the present movement is new in the degree to which it has expressed itself through political opposition--an opposition which has become increasingly revolutionary, in the sense that it has increasingly come to reject the legitimacy of established authority and of the political system itself.[66]

Dana Farnsworth, in Psychiatry, Education and The Young Adult, portrays the college student of today as being estranged from the institution and social order.

> Many students feel alienated because the times are indeed disturbing and events seem to proceed inexorably against the desires of most individuals . . . In the colleges and universities

> they feel as if they have little to say regarding their own futures . . . A considerable number of them do not feel at home in college because they have no sense of belonging; they realize only dimly the significance of what they are doing, and they have no strong beliefs or commitment to any cause.[67]

Keniston also speaks to the issue of "academic anonymity" and the phenomena of disaffection.

> Youth culture is obviously not the only form of alienation, but in our society it is the most characteristic and prevalent expression of cultural disaffection. Intellectuals have always been to some extent dissidents, and over the past three centuries, have become increasingly disaffected. What is remarkable is not the small group of intellectuals who are articulate critics of society, but the growing group of young people of all talents who enter into an increasingly protracted period of disengagement from the dominant values and roles of their culture.[68]

NEED FOR RESEARCH

Much of the recent literature and commentary on alienation has focused upon the behaviors and feelings of college students. Few, however, have characterized alienation as it is reflected in actual subculture behavior. In a recent paper entitled "On Alienation and Activism," Evelyn Dienst points out how the concept of alienation has thus become fraught with ambiguity and contradiction.

> The common labeling of nearly all unconventional youth as "alienated" has contributed to obscuring the distinction between alienation from self and the alienation from social institutions that is presumed to underlie deviance. Further, the characterization of alienation generally found in the theoretical literature, as a passive and retreatist estrangement, seems at odds with the recent descriptions of many disenchanted American youth, most notably the politically radical activists on college campuses, who have been labeled "alienated," and indeed have so described themselves. But their alienation has taken an active, rather than a passive form.[69]

The Alienated Intellectual

From 1957 to 1962 Kenneth Keniston[70] and collegues conducted an intensive research study at Harvard College in an effort to determine the characteristics of alienated college students. His classic study reported the following characteristics of the alienated student:

For alienated students, distrust extends far beyond a low view of human nature; they also believe that intimacy ends in disillusion, that attachment to a group entails the loss of individuality, and that all appearances are untrustworthy. Nor can American culture be trusted: it is mechanical, boring, cheap, conformist, and dull. Any kind of positive commitment is viewed negatively.

Keniston also found that to many alienated undergraduates, love and hate are inseparable. Their own hostilities and scorn become especially intense when they confront other students who are not alienated. Their anger is so corrosive that it extends even to themselves. They maintain that the consequence of self-knowledge is self-contempt, and are quick to admit their own self-revulsion. This resentment is further expressed in their conviction that all men inevitably use each other for their own purpose. Another distinctive outlook of the alienated is a profound pessimism about, and distaste for politics and political action.

According to Keniston, the alienated have a characteristic life-style. One crucial feature of this style is intellectual passion. When and if they choose to become involved in extra-curricular activities, alienated students are naturally drawn to those type of interests that allow them to express their artistic and aesthetic

interests. Whatever they do, their style of participation characteristically involves a preference for the role of the detached observer.

Despite the outward appearance of detachment from others, alienated undergraduates do desire emotional closeness. However, in most of their relationships, including relationships with the opposite sex, they combine an agonizing desire for closeness with a great fear of it.

An examination of the alienated's perception of family shows a remarkable consistency. When discussing their mothers, they frequently emphasize the sacrifices their mothers have made expressing their sadness at their mother's lack of self fulfillment. The mothers of alienated sons also tend to reflect the characteristics of dominance, possessiveness, excessive involvement with their sons, and oversolicitude.

Alienated students volunteer less information about their fathers. Fathers are usually described as dominated by mothers and despite notable success, are often viewed as disappointed, frustrated, and disillusioned men. In characterizing their fathers at present, the alienated consistently emphasize qualities like detachment, reserve, inability to express affection, loneliness and withdrawal from the center of the family. Contrasted with the expressive, emotional, controlling and dynamic mother, the father appears weak, inactive, detached, and uninterested.

Keniston concluded that the extremely alienated students, like those just described, are concentrated largely at highly selective and academic liberal arts colleges, particularly at those with a "progres-

sive" reputation. Even on such campuses, Keniston estimated that the truly alienated constitute a very small minority of all undergraduates --at most, five to ten per cent.

Prior to Keniston's comprehensive study, Jan Hajda[71] also studied alienation and the student intellectual. For Hajda, alienation is an expression of non-belonging or non-sharing. Focusing on the "alienated" and "non-alienated" intellectuals and non-intellectuals, Hajda concluded: The "alienated intellectuals" are students who have found or expect to find, a refuge within the university which the larger society seems unable or unwilling to grant them. The "alienated non-intellectuals" are the marginal men. They are likely to be "the problem children" of the academic society: the drifters, hangers-on, and the professional dilettanti." According to Hajda, although the intellectual need not become alienated in American society, conditions are conducive to such alienation.

Hajda also found that students with low-academic standing are more likely to be alienated than students who pursue their graduate studies very successfully. This same relationship holds when comparing students who are working towards a master's degree and the Ph.D. The latter are more likely to view themselves as intellectuals and are less alienated than are the master's candidates.

Hajda stresses that alienation as such does not necessarily foster or support an intellectual orientation. This is suggested not only by the fact that a fair proportion of student intellectuals lack the feeling of alienation but also by the fairly frequent incidence of alienation among student non-intellectuals.

The Alienated Nonconformist

William Watts and David Whittaker[72] carefully developed a profile of a nonconformist youth culture. Their study addressed itself to the Berkeley non-student, a fringe population or subculture of collegiate age youth (and older counterparts) who are neither formally registered as students nor members of the conventional work force, but who gravitate to the environs of certain large university campuses and live a marginal existence reflective of their conventional role.

The most obvious characteristic that differentiated the non-student from members of the student body or conventional working youth was their general appearance. As might also be expected, the members of the non-student population were drawn disproportionately from the Arts and Humanities.

On two measures of alienation (Srole's Scale of Anomie and the Personal Integration Scale of the Omnibus Personality Inventory), the non-students differed significantly from their counterparts in the direction of being more alienated.

David Whittaker summarizes the disaffiliate nonconformist subculture in this manner:

> The most common response to social alienation and feelings of anomie is what Riesman called "privatism." Such alienated young people increasingly emphasize and value precisely those areas of their lives which are least involved in the wider society, and which therefore seem most manageable and controllable. Along with this response is a search for self via a kind of cult of sense experience. Displaying a high need for change and tolerance for ambiguity, coupled with an exceptionally high capacity for impulse expression, often in conjunction with a lack of defensive caution, the disaffiliate youth is particularly prone to experiment with, and use, drugs.[73]

The Alienated Activist

William Watts, Steve Lynch and David Whittaker[74] also compared student activists or radicals with alienated apolitical youth. Using the Srole (1956) five item Scale of Anomie, the researchers found both the activists and the non-students scored high on anomie but with an important difference. Whereas the non-students were estranged from their families, the activists were not.

According to the researchers, the degree of commitment or involvement is another basic difference between the student activist and the alienated non-student.

One explanation of the non-students' current family estrangement compared to either the regular student body or activist student might be that in prematurely terminating their formal education without entering the conventional work force, they have made a more drastic departure from the conventional path to adulthood. According to the researchers, such behavior would conflict more sharply with their parents' aspirations than the activism of the other students who are still, for the most part, pursuing their educational objectives. It is possible that both psychological propensity and current behavior are operating to some extent resulting in increasing discord and misunderstanding between the non-student alienated youth and family.

Keniston summarizes the similarities and differences between the truly "alienated" youth subcultures and the politically optimistic, active, and socially concerned protesters.

> The culturally alienated student is far too pessimistic and too firmly opposed to "the System" to wish to demonstrate his disapproval in any organized public way. His demonstrations of

> dissent are private: through nonconformity of behavior, ideology and dress, through personal experimentation and above all through efforts to intensify his own subjective experience, he shows his distaste and disinterest in politics and society. The activist attempts to change the world around him, but the alienated student is convinced that meaningful change of the social and political world is impossible. Instead, he considers "dropping out" the only real option.
>
> Alienated students tend to be drawn from the same general social strata and colleges as protesters. But psychologically and ideologically, their backgrounds are often very different. Alienated students are more likely to be disturbed psychologically; and although they are often highly talented and artistically gifted, they are less committed to academic values and intellectual achievement than are protesters. The alienated student's real campus is the school of the absurd, and he has more affinity for pessimistic existentialist ontology than for traditional American activism. Furthermore, such students usually find it psychologically and ideologically impossible to take part in organized group activities for any length of time, particularly when they are expected to assume responsibility of leadership. Thus, on the rare occasions when they become involved with demonstrations, they usually prefer peripheral roles, avoid responsibilities and are considered a nuisance by serious activists.
>
> . . . despite occasional agreement in principles between the alienated and the activists, cooperation in practice has been rare, and usually ends with activists accusing the alienated of "irresponsibility," while the alienated are confirmed in their view of activists as moralistic "up-tight," and "un-cool."[75]

Jesse Geller and Gary Howard also paraphrase Keniston's analysis of the alienated and the activist student.

> The hippie and activist are both institutionally alienated in the sense that they reject the dominant middle-class values and practices of American society, yet one works for change, whereas the other does not. Our evidence leads to the conclusion that activists are institutionally alienated, but not interpersonally alienated.[76]

More recently, Evelyn Dienst[77] challenged the variety of conflicting hypotheses concerning the relationship between political activism and psychological alienation. Her findings largely confirm a fourfold typology of alienation.

The Conventionalists (Low Psychological Alienation--
Low Activist Political Alienation)

While students low in both dimensions of alienation are overtly similar in sociopolitical behavior and attitudes to students identified in other studies as apathetic and conformist, they do not exhibit the retreatism and personal disturbance of apathetic youth. They are satisfied with the societal status quo and have identified with and accepted the values of their parents. They are primarily concerned with career, success, marriage, etc. Protestant ethic values of responsibility, conformity, achievement are primary. For these young, social conformity is not achieved at the expense of psychological integration, and political inactivity is not, the result of feelings of powerlessness. They actively adopt the conventional roles they play.

The Disturbed Conventionalists (High Psychological Alienation--
Low Activist Political Alienation)

Students who are politically inactive and highly psychologically alienated, are those who have not been able to achieve a personally satisfying identity, but do not act out their psychological alienation in the political arena (except, perhaps, in their uninvolvement or apathy). For these psychological retreatists and social ritualists, apparent acceptance of majority political attitudes is the result of feelings of personal inefficacy. They tend to be from lower middle class and to exhibit social and racial prejudice. Their political passivity stems in part from the fact that they do not attribute their personal dissatisfactions to defects in the established political structure.

The Integrated Activist (Low Psychological Alienation--
High Activist Political Alienation)

These politically active students, while low in psychological alienation, nevertheless may be involved in developing and actualizing their independent identities. They tend to share many of the characteristics of political activists described in the literature, and are the students who have not only rejected dominant socio-political values and taken deviant positions, but also have acted on them in a political way. Their deep commitment to political activity is accompanied by strong feelings of personal efficacy.

The ideology and activity of these students from socioeconomically and educationally privileged backgrounds are an outgrowth of their moral development and their rearing by politically liberal-radical parents. While more activists than their parents, they are nevertheless, ideologically faithful to their parent's values.

Integrated activists tend to be academically superior and of an intellectual disposition.

The Disturbed Activists (High Psychological Alienation--
High Activist Political Alienation)

Students who are politically active and psychologically alienated have much in common with the uncommitted youth. But unlike the uncommitted, these doubly alienated individuals are political activists.

Although many of the disturbed activists come from socioeconomically advantaged backgrounds, the thread of estranged family relationships, a domineering and possessive mother, and a prosperous but ineffectual father often runs through their experience. Since these

doubly alienated students are pessimestic about society and themselves, it is likely that their political activity is an acting out of a general personal malaise or an attempt to overcome it.

The studies mentioned above have been invaluable in validating the many prototypes of alienation. Yet, there still remains a host of unanswered questions. A few of the more critical questions, yet to be answered, concern the differences, in degree of alienation, between other subcultures of college students as well as race and sex. Since Keniston's classic study of alienation excluded women, and still served as a base for the development of many later subculture classifications, it was more than timely to explore this issue.

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this study was to determine if eight distinct subcultures of college students reflect differences concerning psychological anomie (alienation) and existential frustration. In addition, the purpose of this study was to explore the interaction among eight college student subcultures and sex and race for psychological anomie and existential frustration.

PROCEDURES

The eight subcultures of college students chosen for study included a typology of American college students developed in the late sixties by Richard E. Peterson[78] and John Winkworth of Educational Testing Service. Their model consisted of eight student types distinguishable in terms of their dominent value commitment.

Vocationalists

The basic commitment of the vocationally orientated college student is to the training he is receiving for a specific occupational career. He views his college education as a means of acquiring a skill that will ensure the occupational security and social prestige that his family lacked. Vocationalists are predominantly from working-class backgrounds. In college, they specialize in engineering, education, business or other technical specialties. Students classified as vocationalists tend to score low on measures of cultural sophistication, social conscience and liberalism. The vocationalist is preparing himself to "make it" within the American system, which he accepts uncritically.

Professionalists

Born of upper-middle class and professional parents, he (this category is practically all male) aspires to much the same life pattern as his highly successful father--achievement expertise. Well endowed intellectually, the professionalists are strongly motivated to succeed in secondary school (often one of the best), and in college they are bent on continuing their record of outstanding academic achievement toward early enrollment in a post graduate professional school (law, business, government, etc.). Professionalists would be disproportionately found in the best undergraduate colleges, a necessary springboard to the right graduate school and first job. Characteristically, they are seldom excited by issues and ideas. The general political outlook of the professionalist is conservative to middle-of-the-road,

and oriented toward the status quo.

Collegiates

The collegiate commitment is to popularity, play and sex and any other activity that defines "college life." Largely from middle class families, the collegiates are attracted to the relatively unselective public colleges and universities, especially the large and old ones in the South and Midwest, which are strongholds of big-time football and the national Greek-letter fraternities and sororities. Anti-intellectual, the collegiate's course work tends to center in fields that make relatively few intellectual demands. While particular subtypes of collegiates may exist on particular campuses, the common denominator seems to be an orientation toward the extra curriculum.

Ritualists

The distinguishing attribute of the ritualist is his lack of commitment to anything. Possibly of less than academic aptitude and usually from lower socioeconomic strata, he has in a sense been swept into college by forces beyond his control--parental prodding, friends going on to college, a college within easy driving distance with admission standards that can be met. More strongly oriented toward home than the university, the ritualist is uninterested in either the academic or collegiate environment. He is apolitical, having no beliefs one way or another about the efficacy of American institutions. For the ritualist, lack of commitment is total.

Academics

The fundemental commitment of the academic type is to scholarly achievement within a specific subject field or academic discipline. Academics are concentrated in the selective and prestigious colleges and universities. They plan to continue on to graduate school, a Ph.D., and a career of research and scholarship. Similar to the professionalists, academics are broadly middle class in background and have relatively well educated parents. As an analytic type, the academic is slightly left of center in his politics. By nature and because of the pressure of other commitments, he is not an activist; he would, however, be a sympathizer and possibly even a participant in some future, broadly based radical student movement.

Intellectuals

Whereas the academic pursues knowledge within the confines of a specific academic discipline, the intellectual is oriented towards ideas and networks of ideas irrespective of the curriculum. The prototype academic is a scientist, the prototype intellectual is a philosopher or historian; the former seeks truth through the scientific method, the latter through an interplay of human insights. These students tend to come from middle andupper class families, to be highly individualistic, liberal in their political outlook (but rather cool and unemotional about it), and aesthetically sensitive. Motivation for grades, a work of the academic type, is not noticeable in the intellectual. According to Peterson and Winkworth, of all the subcultures, the intellectual probably exhibits the broadest history of alienation.

Left-Activists

The basic commitment of the left-activist, dues paying and otherwise, is to personal involvement in action directed at reforming some facet of American life--be it political, economic, or cultural. His parents are prosperous and liberal in outlook. Highly intelligent, activists are found for the most part in the most selective and best known colleges and universities, where their noncareer-oriented academic interests center in the social sciences and humanities. Activists share many of the personality traits of the more passionate sense of outrage at perceived hypocricy, injustice, and wrong-doing, and they have the courage to act to make their behavior consistent with their beliefs.

Hippies

Of the eight types, Peterson and Winkworth describe the hippie's estrangement from American values and institutions as the most thoroughgoing. Unlike the left-activist who hopes for radical reform through political action, the hippie is pessimistically apolitical. The hippies who are enrolled in college would reject most of the usual student roles. On their respective campuses, they constitute what Kenneth Keniston describes as "a kind of hidden underground, disorganizing and shifting in membership, in which students can temporarily or permanently withdraw from the ordinary pressures of college life."[79]

In addition to the eight subcultures mentioned above, the factors of race and sex comprised the independent variables. The race and sex variables were derived from student biographical data.

The factors of psychological anomie (dependent variables or criterion measures) were measured via the Elmore Scale of Anomie.[80] Elmore's scale contributes a recognition of a general factor of meaninglessness. In addition, it measures five other factors of psychological anomie: valuelessness, hopelessness, powerlessness, aloneness, and closed-mindedness. The broad dimensions of Elmore's scale measure feelings that are in conflict between life goals and the means to their attainment.

The seventh dependent variable, existential frustration, was measured via the Purpose-in-Life (PIL) Test.[81] The scale is intended to measure Viktor Frankl's[82] basic concept of "existential vacuum." According to Frankl, when one fails to find a meaning and purpose which gives his life a unique identity, he experiences "existential vacuum." This state of emptiness, manifested chiefly by boredom, will, if not relieved, result in "existential frustration."[83]

DESCRIPTION OF THE POPULATION*

The sample, drawn from 89 colleges and universities, representative of the diversity of higher educational institutions in the United States, completed questionnaires, the Peterson-Winkworth college student subculture identification, Elmore Scale of Anomie and Purpose-in-Life Test. During the academic year 1970-71 an initial sample of 1,306 students were selected.

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*For a detailed description of the methodology, population, and results of this study, see: Metha, Arlene. "Psychological Anomie and Existential Frustration Among Select College Student Subcultures." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1972.

TREATMENT OF THE DATA

Statistical analysis determined if the eight subcultures, sex, and racial subgroups significantly differ in psychological anomie or existential frustration. If the overall analysis of variance test (ANOVA) was significant, then post hoc tests of significance using the Scheffe test were performed. The data were analyzed as an 8 x 2 x 5 fixed effects model factorial design considering subculture (8), sex (2), and race (5) as fixed categories.

FINDINGS

A Refinement of a Typology

As previous studies indicate (Peterson, 1968), the distinguishing attribute of the Ritualist is his lack of commitment to anything. In addition to his lack of commitment, our present findings indicate that he expresses more absence of feelings of progress, self-fulfillment and worth (meaninglessness), and existential frustration than his fellow students.

The Intellectual may exhibit a history of alienation (Peterson, 1968; Keniston, 1965; Hajda, 1961), however, our present research indicates that when all the psychological factors of anomie (alienation) are taken into account, the Ritualist subculture is the most psychologically anomic followed by the Hippie, Vocationalist, Left-Activist and Intellectual, respectively.

Of the eight types, the Hippie's estrangement from American

values and institutions is most thoroughgoing (Peterson, 1968; Keniston, 1965). Our findings confirm that the Hippie subculture reflects more of a feeling that life seems purposeless and hopeless than the other subcultures studied. The Hippie's feeling of personal decline and improbability that the state of affairs will improve in the future, encourages his pessimistically apolitical stance.

The basic commitment of the Left-Activist (Watts, Lynch, Whittaker, 1969; Peterson, 1968; Keniston, 1965; Dienst, 1972) is to personal involvement in action directed at reforming some facet of American life--be it political, economic, or cultural. Our findings confirm that the Left-Activist subculture expresses more valuelessness than each of the other seven subcultures studied. This factor of psychological anomie suggests a value incongruity, value chaos, or normlessness where the basis for prediction and decision making are lacking. The result is a feeling of aimlessness. The individual perceives a disorganized environment wherein the standards of behavior are contradictory and where authority figures, as a source of directives, cannot be counted on to stabilize the rules or lend support (Elmore, 1962). This finding is also supportive of previous research that describes the radical activist as characterized by a more passionate sense of outrage at perceived hypocrisy, injustice, and wrong-doing. Unlike the other subcultures who also feel the same valuelessness, the Left-Activists have the courage to act to make their behavior consistent with their beliefs (Peterson, 1968).

It is interesting to note that the Vocationalist subculture exhibits the greatest amount of closed-mindedness, followed by the

Ritualist, Professionalist and Collegiate subcultures respectively. According to Elmore, closed-mindedness is a factor of psychological anomie which seems to be marked by conformity and prejudice tendencies. This finding is consistent with the description of the Professionalist and Collegiate as conservative to middle-of-the-road, oriented toward the status quo, and gravitating toward conservative politics (Peterson, 1968).

The fact that each of the subcultures studies exhibited some form of psychological anomie is not surprising. Our findings confirm that anomie harbors no subculture boundaries. It is a prevalent uneasiness whose target affects all college student types. Even the Professionalist, Academic, and Vocational subcultures, who represent a firm commitment to either a profession, continued graduate study, or a vocational field, exhibit some feeling of psychological anomie.

According to Grafton,[84] belonging to a vocational or academic subculture might, in itself, reflect purposeful alienation from the institution.

A Closer Look at Sex Differences

Previous research has been confusing concerning the relationship between existential frustration, anomie and sex differences. (Mizruchi, 1960[85]) reports that sex and anomie are not associated. This is consistent with (Richmond, Mason, and Smith,[86] 1969) who report that males do not experience more meaninglessness than females.

Our findings, however, are consistent with a number of other research studies. Similar to the findings of (Elmore and Chambers,

1967; Brown and Smith,[87] 1968) our research indicates that men do express more meaninglessness than females. Going beyond the findings of Elmore and Chambers, our present research also indicates that men exhibit more feelings of aloneness and existential frustration than women.

Our finding that men exhibit more closed-mindedness than women is consistent with the findings of (Richmond, Mason, and Smith, 1969).

The suggestion of (Meier and Bell,[88] 1959), that women may be more anomic than men on certain psychological factors is also varified. Our present research confirms that women express more feelings of hopelessness than their male counterparts. Such a finding is also in keeping with the suggestion of (Goldsen,[89] 1960; and Hill[90]) that anomia depends on whether or not women accept goals (especially those other than being a housewife) which they are prevented from reaching due to their sex. Another interesting finding that relates to the above notion is that women tend to exhibit more meaninglessness than men in the Professionalist subculture. This may very well be the reasoning behind why fewer women choose the Professionalist option.

The Anomic Minority

The interpretation of the results concerning racial differences on the dependent measures must be approached with caution. The relatively small number of minority students, particularly in the American Indian group, allows for limited generalizability.

Our finding that Blacks tend to exhibit a higher degree of valuelessness than Chicanos and Caucasians is consistent with the

findings of (Burbach and Thompson,[91] 1971) who also found that Black freshmen college students attained the highest mean score (most alienated) on powerlessness, nowmlessness, social isolation, and total alienation subscales. Burbach and Thompson interpret the difference on normlessness to suggest that Blacks experience a greater sense of purposelessness (the loss of socialized values and absence of values that might give purpose to life) and more of a feeling of being confronted with contradictory normative patterns than their white counterparts.

When sexes within the minorities were separated, it was learned that females within the Caucasian, Chicano, Oriental and Black races tend to exhibit more hopelessness than their male counterparts. This finding is consistent with the findings of (Reilley and Knight,[92] 1970) who found that female subjects scored higher than males on tendency to worry, lack of self-confidence, and reaction to stress with depression.

The aloneness that minority males exhibit is also not a surprising discovery. Elmore describes the pervasive feeling of aloneness as a form of feeling of isolation, estrangement, and dissociation from one's fellow being. The individual feels unloved and unwanted and is devoid of feelings of belongingness.

With the Black man in particular, our findings accurately portray the deprivation of spirit as described by Eldridge Cleaver in Soul on Ice:

> . . . the Black man . . . lives under a system in which he was deprived of mind, condemned to be the laboring body while

> the white man retained exclusive possession of the capacity for thought and domination.[93]

IMPLICATIONS

The awareness that man in all stages of history and time has undergone some form and degree of alienation should hardly act as a reason for mankind to abandon its fight against the forces of estrangement.

Although alienation may have been a historical reality from the beginning of time, it seems that the new man's anxiety is greater than that of the old. The new man is tied to uncertain forms and forces over which he feels little control. Feeling victimized by an impersonal system, the new man feels as though he has little personal strength to fall back on. He lacks a sense of self that could be sustained despite rejection by the system. And perhaps, most tragic of all, he often lacks a community of friends who can be counted on to support him with their affection despite the judgment of society. (Reich, 1970).

If we are to survive and somehow transcend the current normative condition of man, we must once again re-unite with what it means to be human. Material values must give way to human values. Humanization must replace industrialization. The capacity to care must override anonymity. Only then, can we come close to responding to what alienation or anomie is all about.

No solution to the human dilemma will come easily. Yet, if our institutions of higher education truly do care, then we must begin

by formulating some "coherent philosophy" that considers the vacuity of the human condition. At the same time, we must acknowledge the complexity of human nature and the diversity of human experience. Perhaps what all this means is that it is not what we teach that will give final validity to education, but what we are as human beings.

TABLE 1

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE
INCLUDING CLASS, RACE, SEX, RESIDENCY, AGE, ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP,
TYPE OF INSTITUTION, GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF INSTITUTION, AND SAMPLE SIZE,
N = 1,306

Class	Freshman	355	Age	18 years or younger	325
	Sophomore	384		19 - 21 years	732
	Junior	313		22 - 25 years	146
	Senior	254		25 years or older	103
	Graduate	0			
Race	American Indian	8	Organizational Membership		
	Black	34		Fraternity/Sorority	362
	Oriental	27		Independent	944
	Chicano	72			
	Caucasian	1,165			
Sex	Male	452	Type of Institution	Public	45
	Female	854		Private	44
Residency	Resident	740			
	Commuter	566			

Geographic Distribution of Institutions Represented

No. of Institutions			Size of Sample		
	East	11		N = 25	East
	Midwest	17		N = 97	Midwest
	South	17		N = 29	South
	West	44		N = 1,105	West
				N* = 50	

*Students who did not specify an institution.

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